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installations in Rowanduz, the air of the communications office is heavy with tobacco smoke and its floor littered with cigarettes. Because of the importance of his task, the postmaster works in close touch with the gaiman.

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Some distance up the street leading to the left past the cereal, next to the police detachment's quarters, is the Tobacco Monopoly, a large, barn-like structure, which, in addition to warehouse space, contains a few offices. One of the gaiman's most important subordinates is the director of this monopoly. As in other countries, tobacco in Iraq offers a lucrative source of government revenue, particularly the tax on cigarettes, and is one of the most important cash crops of the Rowanduz district. The government controls the distribution of seed and purchases all of the crop from the cultivators after the harvest, a control which eliminates the profiteering of middlemen and at the same time secures itself a respectable profit. The harvested leaf is transmitted to the cigarette factories in Baghdad. The leaf grown in the Rowanduz district is typically small and extremely friable, but the government has introduced certain better strains of late. Cultivators or their overlords may retain small quantities of the harvest for their own consumption, usually prepared as cigarettes by hand within the households.

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Across from the Tobacco Monopoly and police detachment, occupying a detached slope of land overlooking the gorge, is a single-storey cement-block hospital and several outbuildings.

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the summer heat, these rooms have a height which seems ab- 342
normal to European or American eyes, about ten or twelve
feet, and the rooms of the first storey are additionally
raised on a platform of earth one or two feet above the
level of the courtyard. The windows facing inward and those
of the second storey are larger, and may boast glass in
wooden frames brought from Erbil. The ceilings consist
of bundles of poles and twigs, and are mostly left un-
finished, although a few have been plastered and pasted
with newspaper. The floors and the roof are of mud mixed
with chaff laid down in a number of layers. Before [356] ●
cleaning a room, it is customary to wet the floor down by
copious sprinkling, and sweeping usually carries off a
little of the floor. The roofs are equipped with long, [413]
smooth, cylindrical stones, four to six inches in diameter
and about a foot in length, used to roll the mud of the
roof after rain or snow. With a few exceptions, most of
these homes are of two storeys, and, although there is
considerable variation in the assignment of rooms, of
which six or seven constitute a minimum number, and in
the plan itself, the adherence to a courtyard design is
marked. In addition, there is an obvious attempt to orient
the house and its windows so that household life, specifi-
cally that of the women, is hidden from passers-by on the
street and people of neighboring buildings. Lacking a [351]
"true" courtyard shielded on all sides, the deficiencies
are amended with high, impenetrable fences of interlaced
twigs and foliage. In the absence of archaeological [194]

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storeroom, although sometimes locked in a cupboard or chest by a watchful mistress.

251

By far the greater part of domestic tasks are performed by the women, preparation of food, minding the infants, and maintenance of the house, to some extent alleviated by the help of older children or of servants. Because most of the children's and women's clothing is made at home, the housewife, if she is not herself an expert at sewing, must supervise the work of the seamstresses, and in many establishments a certain amount of embroidery is also made. There is no regular program for laundry and cleaning, and these are done whenever the mistress feels it is necessary. In general, the woman has a free hand in the management of her home and receives an allowance from her husband, not at appointed times, but whenever the last sum has been exhausted, for its upkeep. While it would not be considered particularly shameful, a man takes little or no part in any domestic tasks, save the heaviest work, because they have been simply established as the "work of women" and followed by girls from their childhood. A man, for example, who earns his livelihood making tea in a chaykhana does not perform the same job in his home. Servants attend to the menial parts of housekeeping and are under the orders of both the owner and his wife, although the latter takes a much greater share of their direction. Certain items of food can be obtained at the door of the house, while others are purchased in the bazar

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Heating . Washing up . Laundering . Cleaning . Bed making

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Washing up and laundering. All washing up is done in cold, running water, very thoroughly and carefully, nothing being used except the white household soap, also used for washing clothes. The sole domestic utensils that come into contact with boiling water are the tea glasses whilst tea is being served. Clothes are washed in hot water, soap flakes or white and brown household soap being used. Water for the washing of clothes is, in the villages, boiled in a rice pot over a fire in the courtyard, and the clothes are rinsed in cold spring water at one of the basins. Clothes might be hit against a stone or beaten with a wooden bat. Incidentally, few of the materials used for dresses were suitable for washing. The materials with metal worked into them, the coloured silk and artificial silk materials, lost a good deal of their beautiful appearance when coming into contact with soap and water. Those best suited were naturally the white and dark flowered cotton stuffs. In fact the cleanliness that constitutes an aesthetic factor in our mode of dressing is unknown to the Kurdish woman. It was said that in the olden days, before European soap a grass root or soap root was used. Articles of clothing are kept in metal chests, with tobacco inside against moths.

Ironing is done with an iron filled with glowing charcoal or, in towns like Kirkuk and Sulaimani, with an electric iron. There are no ironing boards. Ironing is performed on the floor with a carpet as underlay, the ironer on her haunches. A table and standing position is the exception, the squatting working position being preferred.

Cleaning. As there were no wooden floors in the homes I lived in, I found that a floor cloth was something seldom seen, and used only on tiles in Sulaimani. Clay floor, courtyards and roofs were swept with a brush, *gez*, (E. 2270), made of two palm leaves tied together, the ribs of which were all laid on the same side and sewn together so that it resembled a fan, 0.40 m. long and 0.27 m. broad. The brush, which is quite cheap and quickly worn out, is bought in the *siq*. The dust swept up, the dirt and refuse can, for example, be put in a petrol can and emptied. During work the woman moves on her haunches across the floor, sweeping away from, not towards, her. In the summer all floors are daily sprayed with water or, as in Sulaimani, watered with a hose in order to clean the floor, to create coolness and, particularly, humidity in the extremely dry air. Rugs and underlying mats, which at the beginning of summer are rolled off the floor and stacked on a wooden bench in some room in the house, are filled with clay dust, which the duststorm whirls about, but there is no carpet beating.

Bedmaking. Made beds do not exist as a constant factor. As formerly mentioned, women make the beds each evening and remove them in the morning. The iron bedsteads there may be in the house stand during the day like bare skeletons on the loggia, the roof, or wherever the family has elected to sleep at night during the summer heat. In the villages common beds are arranged with branch-covered laths, resting, for example, on four petrol cans. Generally, a "bed" merely consists of a mat on which a cotton mattress is rolled out. For covering a quilt is used, with or without the sewn-on, envelope-shaped, cotton cover, which is not adapted for changing as it has to be unstitched. Under sheets are rare. The pillow is a cylindrical cushion. If there is any kind of pillow case it is of cotton and shaped like a cuff around the middle of the cushion. It is not meant to be changed, either.

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513 All bedclothes and mattresses are rolled together in the morning and piled on top of each other, the outermost being covered by a woollen rug, *harak* or *Jilni* (E. 2253, 2.80 m. x 1.48 m. brown-striped), or a carpet of Indian cotton with stripes in bright colours (E. 2255, 2.08 m. x 1.15 m.). Some mattress may be covered with flowered cotton material, and are, with the pillows, rolled out on the floor by the side of one of the walls of the house as sitting places for several persons; or, after the midday meal, rolled out for guests in order that they can sleep during the hottest hours of the day, covered by a large piece of curtain-like gauze, which replaces quilts and such like at the height of summer.

516 *Working postures.* In a culture like that obtaining in Southern Kurdistan, where the floor is the place one sits and sleeps, the pattern of movements is quite different from that existing in Western culture.

A seated working posture, with the legs bent to a right angle at the knee, is only met with when working with the pit treadle-loom, where the pit dug in the earth affords room for the lower legs, and when using the treadle sewing machine.

Standing working postures are extremely rare. Only on one occasion have I seen the ironing of clothes taking place on a table in the same way as we use an ironing board.

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516 Apart from this all work is performed by the woman in a squatting posture or in a tailor's position with the lower legs strongly bent. The washing of clothes is performed squatting, whether at the water basin or at a circular, flat-bottomed, metal vessel on the ground by the tap. The same position is adopted when cleaning poultry and cutting meat. When kneading and rolling dough, and baking, whether in the earth oven or on a metal sheet, it is done in a tailor's position, whereas women squat at the vertical loom, when setting up the warp, working by the fire and when washing themselves at the basin or the tap. The same applies to the washing of hands, the rinsing of nose and mouth after meals, and when soaping and rinsing the body with the aid of a small metal bowl during the steam bath in the bathroom.

516 How natural the squatting position was could be seen in the case of an Iraqi family, friends of the sheikh family in Topzawa. This family lived in one of the Anglo-French stone houses at the Dokan Dam Site. Here washing up took place in this posture with the china in a wickerwork basket and the washing-up tub on the floor, although the building possessed a kitchen table and a stainless steel sink. All meals in this home, including the making and serving of tea, were served for the women on the floor despite the fact that there were chairs and tables in another room, and the parquet floor had to be thoroughly dried afterwards, whereas had it been a clay floor the water spilt during the making of tea would have been absorbed. Even though my interpreter's home at Sulaimani boasted of a wash-basin, complete with tap, built into the wall knee-high from the ground, the women washed themselves in a squatting position, sitting on the edge of the wash-basin instead of washing their hands, face and feet standing in front of it.

In the tailor's position the thighs and bent knees were not pressed outwards but settled down to the ground under their own weight. The overstretched tendinous ligaments in the hip joint⁷⁴ allowed the thigh bone to slip out of its socket. Mobility of the thigh joint is combined with great flexibility

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Fig. 39. Village women go out in the mountains to meet shepherd twice a day. Topzawa.

462 Fuel is collected in the mountains by women with axes and carried home on the back. Cattle dung
512 is collected in the mountains, kneaded with straw and dried into cakes on the wall of the house.

392 The rinsing of rice takes place at the water basin from which water is fetched, often far from the
402 home. Wheaten grain is ground in the house of a neighbour who owns a quern.

496 Cooking and washing up is done at home, whilst the washing of clothes takes place at the spring
[386] basin in small villages and at big, covered parochial basins in the larger ones, by all the women in
[496] association. The clothes are laid out to dry at the same place. Beds are made by all the women of the
[386] house working together. When the family slept on the roof the bedding remained there, but was rolled
[496] up during the day. An extra task at Balkha was the glazing of the roof with a mixture of clay and
chalk; this was done collectively at the various homes in turn. To sum up: Apart from the cooking of
food and bed making, a great part of the domestic activities take place outside the home and are
performed by the women of the village collectively. In Balkha the distribution of milk and the treat-
ment of the roofs were also collective.